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ABSTRACT

The actual and desired working hours of women in western and eastern Germany were examined by surveying a random sample of 6,742 western and eastern German women aged 18-65 years. Of the women interviewed, 1,800 from western Germany and 1,341 from eastern Germany were in dependent employment. An overall response rate of 52.8% was achieved. Eighty-four percent of respondents in full-time employment in the West and 85% in full-time employment in the East were satisfied with their working hours. Only 16% and 15% of women employed full-time in the West and East, respectively, desired to work fewer hours. Of the women in part-time employment in the West, 27% considered themselves underemployed, 11% considered themselves "overemployed," and 62% were satisfied with the hours they worked. Of the women in part-time employment in the East, 55% considered themselves underemployed, 5% considered themselves "overemployed," and 40% were satisfied with the hours they worked. In the West, 58% of women who were not working were satisfied with their situation and 42% wanted to work. In the East, on the other hand, 80% of those who were not working wanted to work and only 20% were content not working. (Twenty-one tables/figures and 24 references are included.) (MN)

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Institute for Employment Research

Petra Beckmann

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# Working Hours and Wishes Concerning Working Hours among Women in Western and Eastern Germany

- **Employment of Women**
- **Working Hours**
- **Wishes Regarding Working Hours**
- **Western and Eastern Germany**

1998

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Petra Beckmann*)

# Working Hours and Wishes Concerning Working Hours among Women in Western and Eastern Germany

## - Results of an Empirical Study from 1995 -

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## 1 Introduction

The traditional allocation of roles and the consequent division of labour between the sexes created facts in the worlds of labour and family which make the problem of combining occupation and family seem to be a problem specific to women alone. Consequently this problem plays a central role in the debate surrounding female employment. More and more women - especially in the old federal *Länder* - tried to solve this dilemma in the past by taking up part-time employment. As a result part-time work became a women's domain in the old *Länder*. There continue to be only very few men in this area. In particular in the 1980s the increased supply of part-time jobs on the one hand and the changed employment behaviour of married women (with children) on the other hand contributed to women being described as having benefited from the structural changes in the economy - referring to the number of employment relationships (cf. Klauder 1994). Women's share of the total volume of work, however, remained virtually unchanged.

In contrast to this, full-time employment was characteristic of the "normal employment relationship" of mothers in the GDR (cf. Holst/Schupp 1994). Part-time work was, however, decisively associated there, too, with the employment of women, although it was mainly performed by older women; these women have since left the labour force (cf. Schupp 1995). In view of the changes in living and working conditions since 1989/90 it seemed natural to expect an increase in the rate of part-time employment among mothers for both voluntary and involuntary reasons in the new federal *Länder*. Firstly "in the past the desire for part-time work [had always been] higher [...] than the actual number of women in part-time employment" (Winkler 1990, p 86), secondly " an increase in the costs of or a reduction in the number of childcare possibilities outside the home [could] ... restrict the employment of women" (Engelbrech 1993, p. 18).

The current situation concerning the working hours and wishes regarding working hours among women in western and eastern Germany is, however, not only of interest for assessing the situation of women on the labour market. The political debate regarding the flexibilisation and reduction of working hours - a debate which has been underway for some time now as a result of persistently high unemployment - has made the subject of part-time work the main topic of public discussions in general. At labour market policy level in particular positive employment effects and increases in productivity are expected whose order of magnitude is estimated differently. The positive expectations were based in particular on past developments of the volume of work and the employment figures. For the employment of women, the employment-increasing effect of increased part-time work can be expressed in figures for the past years as follows: the number of women in dependent employment increased between 1960 and 1994 from 6.76 million to 11.13 million. 83% (3.64 million) of the total increase in employment constituted increased part-time employment (cf. Kohler/Spitznagel 1995, p. 341).[1] From the data concerning the supply of part-time jobs and concerning the (voluntary) part-time potential available among the labour force as well as the actual development of part-time employment, it can be seen that the trend is not continuing in this way in the 1990s. Thus from the job supply side a weaker growth in the number of part-time jobs is recorded for western Germany in recent years. With regard to the part-time potential it emerges from the IAB survey data that - owing to changes in the prevailing conditions - there have been attitudinal and behavioural changes at individual level among the female labour force, which can be seen in a decline in the

[1] In comparison with this the number of men in dependent employment increased in the same period by 1.14 million; 340,000 (30%) of these men took up part-time work.

willingness for increased part-time work. Finally official data sources - seen in analyses both of the persons and of volume - confirm a weakening dynamism with regard to the actual development of (voluntary and involuntary) part-time work.

This report is intended firstly to provide an overview of the employment situation and the wishes concerning working hours among women in Germany. Secondly wishes and reality in the organisation of the working time of employed women are to be illustrated. The article begins with a description of the data basis. This is followed by the first section of actual content, with an overall view of the wishes of eastern and western German women regarding employment and working hours. This is intended to outline the extent of the employment problems and the discrepancies between real and ideal conditions on the labour market. This examination includes *all women*. The second part of the article is dedicated to the working hours and wishes regarding working hours of *working women*. First the current and desired employment volume (duration of working hours) is portrayed as well as its relation with socioeconomic determinants, paying particular attention to the family and household context. This is followed by an analysis of the actual and preferred organisation of working hours (position of the working hours). This concerns in particular forms of flexible working hours which diverge from the rigid "normal employment relationship". In addition to part-time work this also includes overtime as well as weekend work. In particular the findings concerning women's attitudes towards increased part-time work and the variants of working hours should provide indications and suggestions for the further discussion of employment-orientated regulations for working hours, which can not be given here. In the concluding chapter the key findings of the individual analyses are summarised.

It is necessary to begin by saying that analyses of desires regarding employment and working hours of people in employment and of the non-active population are usually based on 'snapshots' as is also the case in this report. Women's working hours and their wishes regarding working hours are, however shaped - more strongly than is the case for men - by the particular circumstances and therefore vary over the life-cycle. For a qualitative analysis and assessment of variable forms of working hours, it is also important to know, in addition to the occupational activities and positions in which they are performed[2], what significance is attached to them within the entire career history. This is especially true of part-time work, which is widespread - at least among western German women. With the cross-sectional data on which the study is based it is not possible to answer the question as to whether and how often part-time work is a (repeated) temporary or a continuous form of employment. A classification of the present findings into women's career histories and life cycles can thus only be done in the context of a longitudinal analysis (cf. on this Quack 1993).

## 2 Data basis

The data used here was collected in the context of the IAB project "Employment wishes and employment behaviour of women in eastern and western Germany" (P 3-466A) in November/December 1995. In a representative random sample, 6,742 western and eastern German women of working age between 18 and 65 years of age were questioned orally; schoolgirls, students and trainees were not included in the population. Of the women interviewed 1,800 in western Germany and 1,341 in eastern Germany were in dependent employment. The response rate was 52.8% altogether.

[2] On the relation between different employment profiles and occupational segregation, cf. e.g. Beckmann 1996.

In addition to fundamental questions on sociodemography, school education and vocational training, on career history and unemployment, owing to current events the questionnaire also included a focus on "working hours". With the present data it is possible to deal with a broad spectrum of matters related to this subject. Results have already been published

- on the sociodemographic structure of working women and on the actual and desired duration of working hours (cf. Beckmann/Kempf 1996),
- on the actual working time structures and their acceptance, and the wishes of women in dependent employment with regard to this matter (cf. Beckmann 1997b),
- on the real and ideal organisation of gainful employment in a partnership (cf. Endler/Beckmann 1997) and
- on the employment potential of the expansion of part-time work (cf. Beckmann 1997a).

The subject of this report is a summary of the key study results from the previous analyses in order to make them accessible to a broader public.

## 3 Employment situation and employment desires of women

As the individual preferences concerning employment and working hours of many people in employment and of economically inactive people can not be realised under the present conditions on the labour market, in the following the concrete conditions are compared with women's employment desires. In order to depict the disparities between wishes and reality at global level first of all, the women are divided into three groups on the basis of their current and desired employment status and employment volume (cf. Rübel 1997):

1. "Underemployed" female workers and those not in the labour force, whose optimum desired working hours would be greater than their present working hours.
2. "Overemployed" female workers, for whom the opposite relation is true.
3. "Normally employed" female workers, whose desired working hours match their actual working hours, and women who are not in the labour force and are not seeking work.

***Table 3.1*: Shares of "underemployed", "overemployed" and "normally employed" female workers and women not in the labour force by current employment volume and employment status**
**(figures in %)**

| Present employment volume/ employment status | "Under-employed" women[2] | | "Over-employed" women[3] | | "Normally employed" women[4] | | Total (n=100 %) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | West | East | West | East | West | East | West | East |
| Full-time | - | - | 16 | 15 | 84 | 85 | 949 | 992 |
| Part-time | 27 | 55 | 11 | 5 | 62 | 40 | 747 | 303 |
| Not working[1] | 42 | 80 | - | - | 58 | 20 | 1,447 | 754 |

[1] The category not working includes unemployed women, women taking part in further vocational training and retraining, women who have taken early retirement, housewives and women who are not in employment for other reasons. Women taking parental leave were not taken into account as they have a legal claim to a job after the end of their parental leave. Self-employed women and women in their period of maternity protection were not asked as to their employment desires.
[2] Women in part-time employment who wish to increase their working hours and women who are not in the labour force but who would in principle like to work.
[3] Women in full-time or part-time employment who would like to reduce their hours or give up work altogether.
[4] Women in full-time or part-time employment who do not wish to change their working hours, and women who are not in the labour force and do not wish to work (again).

Source: IAB-Project 3-466A, 1995

From *Table 3.1* it is possible to see the following in general regarding employment desires: firstly the figures indicate clearly and impressively that women in full-time employment wish to change their current situation the least often and women who are not in the labour force the most often (cf. column "normally employed women" in *Table 3.1*). In addition it stands out that there are considerably more "underemployed" women, who wish to work more or would like to work in principle, than there are "overemployed" women, who wish to reduce their hours. Even without taking into consideration the particular employment volume desired, it can already be foreseen that nowhere near all the wishes of women who would like to work (more) can be fulfilled by means of women in full-time or part-time employment accepting a voluntary reduction in working hours.

The poor situation on the labour market affects those women most seriously who are excluded entirely from the employment process against their will. It was already clear from *Table 3.1* that there is a large number of such women. In order to be able to delimit this group more exactly - also with regard to the desired volume of employment - in the following those women who had looked for work during the previous 12 months are studied separately[3]. *Table 3.2* summarises all the information and gives an overview of the employment desires of western and eastern German women who are not in the labour force.

[3] There is no information available concerning the actually desired employment volume of women who reported that they were interested in working but who had not been looking for a job during the past 12 months.

*Table 3.2*: **Employment desires of women who are not in the labour force (figures in %)**

| | Western Germany | Eastern Germany |
|---|---|---|
| **Women not in the labour force (n=100 %)** | **1,447** | **754** |
| % who would like to work in principle | 42 | 80 |
| % of these who have sought work in the last 12 months | 43 | 87 |
| % of these who are seeking a full-time job | 40 | 81 |

Source: IAB-Project 3-466A, 1995

It is immediately recognisable from the information in *Table 3.2* that the employment orientation of eastern German women was still much stronger at the end of 1995 than that of western German women (cf. also Engelbrech et al. 1997). This refers both to their willingness to work in principle, which is roughly "twice as high" as among western German women, and to their active search for work. If the latter, more restricted definition of inclination to work is taken as a basis, then about a fifth of all women not in the labour force are seeking work in western Germany compared with more than two thirds in eastern Germany. In addition to this, eastern German women on the whole desire a far greater employment volume than women in western Germany. Whereas western German women who are not in the labour force are mainly interested in part-time work, the majority of eastern German women would like to work full-time. If it were possible to realise the women's intentions regarding employment, the trend seen in the 1980s in western Germany - an increase in labour force participation with only a slight increase in the total volume of work - would continue in the future. In eastern Germany, on the other hand, the higher labour force participation of women would immediately demand a definite expansion of the volume of work.

**Ideal models of working hours in a partnership and the current employment situation**

The extent to which the actual conditions coincide with the wishes of those concerned is also of significance from the point of view of equal opportunities for women and men in the family on the one hand and on the labour market on the other hand. If couples' ideals regarding working hours[4] are compared with their present situations[5], an equally high degree of disparity between wishes and reality can be identified (cf. *Figure 3.1*) as when the issue is considered from a specifically female point of view.

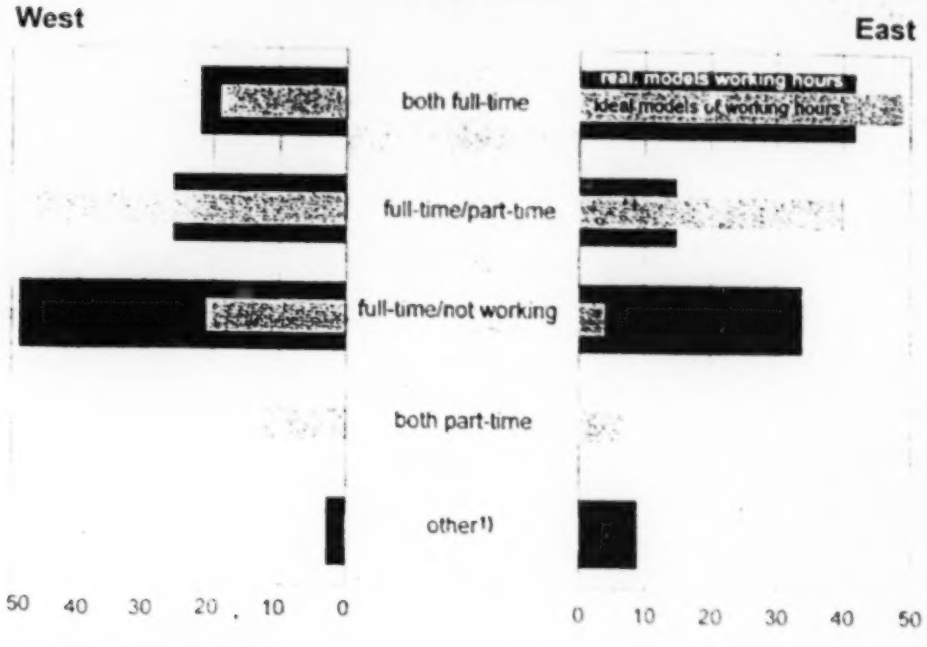
[4] Ideally the information should reflect the opinion of both of the partners, if they agree on this matter. Otherwise the results are to be interpreted as the personal attitudes of the female respondents.

[5] The couples' present working hours model was formed on the basis of the information given by the women respondents concerning their own and their partners' individual working hours. This includes the possibility that one or both of the partners is/are not working.

*Figure 3.1*

**Realised and ideal models of working hours in a partnership**

- women between 18 and 60 years of age, excluding trainees, the retired and the self-employed, in % -




1) e.g. part-time/not working etc.

Source: IAB-project 3-466A, 1995

Whereas in western Germany (women's) desires do not coincide with reality in half of all couples, in eastern Germany the figure is as high as 62%.[6] The smallest discrepancy can be seen in partnerships in which the women state a preference for full-time employment, the form found most frequently on the German labour market as a whole. Here the difference between the stated ideal working hours and the actual situation is seven percent in the east and three percent in the west. Whereas in eastern Germany the desire for a full-time job is greater than the supply, however, in western Germany more full-time work is done than actually desired. A reduction of working hours should, however, not fall one-sidedly and entirely to one of the partners. The situation in which one of the partners is not working applies to almost half of western German couples at present, 62% of the women are, however, not satisfied with this and are therefore potential suppliers of labour. In eastern Germany, too, a good third of couples find themselves in the situation that one partner is not working, which in a considerable 92% of the cases does not coincide with their wishes. Of this figure half of the women

[6] Some of the figures given in the text are not clear from Figure 3.1 and are based on separate calculations.



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with an (unintentionally) unemployed partner would like a full-time/part-time combination, the other half would like both partners to have full-time jobs. Things do not look good either for those couples who would like both partners to be employed part-time. This desire is currently left unfulfilled for almost all those concerned in eastern and western Germany alike.

To sum up it can be discerned - seen in relation to the respondents' ideals - that in addition to an insufficient supply of full-time jobs there is also a considerable lack of part-time jobs, both on the part of the workers who would like to reduce their working hours and even more strongly on the part of people who are currently not working but would like to.

## 4 Working hours and wishes regarding working hours among working women

In the following the organisation of working hours found and that desired is characterised and subdivided on the basis of the two fundamental dimensions of (working) time - the duration (chronometry) and the position (chronology), although these dimensions are not free of overlaps. As explained in Schuh et al. (cf. Schuh et al. 1993, p. 134), it is also possible to derive from these two dimensions the types of arrangement basically possible for changes in working time structures:

"1. the *chronometrical working hours variation* as a deviation from the generally common duration of a full-time job (e.g. part-time work);

2. the *chronological working hours variation*, which provides a variable distribution pattern for a certain amount of working time (e.g. flexible working hours without the possibility of transferring time);

3. the *chronometrical and chronological working hours variation*, in which alternatives are opened up that diverge from standard working hours as far as both quantity and distribution are concerned (e.g. weekend work)."

The following results are also described - as far as possible - against the background of this framework.

### 4.1 Duration of working hours, and wishes - Chronometrical organisation of working hours

**Full-time work**

As already indicated in Chapter 3 (cf. *Table 3.1*), at the end of 1995 not only the labour force participation but also the employment volume of women in eastern Germany was still significantly higher than in western Germany. Thus 56% of western German women in dependent employment were working full-time. In eastern Germany the corresponding figure was considerably higher at 77%.[7] According to the information given by the women, full-time employ-

[7] These results are based on the women's self-classification in answer to the question: "Measured against the collectively agreed working hours in your company, is your present job a full-time or a part-time job?" For the self-employed a category "not applicable, I am self-employed" was provided. If not otherwise mentioned, the self-employed are therefore not included in any of the subsequent analyses. An additional control of the self-

ment covers a range of 15 to 60 hours per week (average: 38 hours) in western Germany and 14 to 48 hours (average: 39 hours) in eastern Germany.[8] About half of the women working full-time in eastern and western Germany were in "normal working hours relationships" (full-time employment spread over 5 weekdays, not varied in position and performed Monday to Friday during the day, cf. Bauer et al. 1996, p. 52).[9] This suggests that full-time employment relationships are similarly structured in western and eastern Germany and thus can not be the reason for the higher full-time rate among eastern German women. Instead, it expresses (once again) the different employment **behaviour** of women in eastern and western Germany. If one looks at the sociodemographic composition of the full-time employed (cf. *Tables 4.1.1, 4.1.2, 4.1.3*) it can be seen that this is a relatively homogeneous group in western Germany (on average 36 years old, no children, married or without a partner). In eastern Germany, however, it is not possible to determine a "typical" female full-timer (cf. in more detail on this Beckmann/Kempf 1996). Women in full-time employment there are on average three years older, which can be put down mainly to the stronger labour force participation of 35-54-year-olds. Consequently only a good half of the women do not have any children under 16 and more than two thirds are married.

***Table 4.1.1***
**Age** (women in dependent employment)

| Age | Western Germany | | | Eastern Germany | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | Part-time | Full-time | Total | Part-time | Full-time |
| aged 18 - 24 | 8,1 % | 1,6 % | 13,3 % | 6,2 % | 5,1 % | 6,5 % |
| aged 25 - 34 | 29,5 % | 22,1 % | 35,5 % | 29,2 % | 32,4 % | 28,3 % |
| aged 35 - 44 | 33,1 % | 41,6 % | 26,2 % | 33,0 % | 35,6 % | 32,2 % |
| aged 45 - 54 | 21,3 % | 24,0 % | 19,1 % | 23,0 % | 17,6 % | 24,6 % |
| aged 55 - 65 | 8,0 % | 10,7 % | 5,9 % | 8,6 % | 9,3 % | 8,4 % |
| Total | 100 %<br>n = 1.791 | 100 %<br>n = 796 | 100 %<br>n = 995 | 100 %<br>n = 1.337 | 100 %<br>n = 312 | 100 %<br>n = 1025 |
| Mean value in years | 38,6 | 41,4 | 36,3 | 39,3 | 39,2 | 39,4 |
| T-Test (part-time vs. full-time) | | p = 0,000 | | | p = n.s. | |
| T-Test (west vs. east) | p = 0,03 | | | | | |

Source: IAB-Project 3-466A, 1995

classification was carried out by means of the information on the collectively/contractually agreed working week.

[8] Figures of less than 35 hours per week are based solely on the information from teachers concerning their teaching load.

[9] The normal working hours relationship was operationalised here as follows: full-time employment; 5-day week; fixed number of working days and position of the hours; Saturday or Sunday work, shiftwork or nightwork performed only rarely or never.

*Table 4.1.2*
**Number of children under the age of 16 in the household (women in dependent employment)**

| No. of children under 16 in the household | Western Germany | | | Eastern Germany | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | Part-time | Full-time | Total | Part-time | Full-time |
| no children | 64,5 % | 42,4 % | 82,1 % | 54,3 % | 46,2 % | 56,8 % |
| 1 child | 17,8 % | 26,3 % | 11,1 % | 25,2 % | 25,3 % | 25,2 % |
| 2 children | 15,1 % | 27,1 % | 5,6 % | 18,5 % | 24,4 % | 16,7 % |
| 3 or more children | 2,5 % | 4,2 % | 1,2% | 1,9 % | 4,2 % | 1,3 % |
| Total | 100 % n = 1.789 | 100 % n = 794 | 100 % n = 995 | 100 % n = 1.335 | 100 % n = 312 | 100 % n = 1.023 |
| Mean value | 0,56 | 0,93 | 0,26 | 0,68 | 0,87 | 0,63 |
| T-Test (part-time vs. full-time) | p = 0,000 | | | p = 0,000 | | |
| T-Test (west vs. east) | p = 0,000 | | | | | |

Source: IAB-Project 3-466A, 1995

*Table 4.1.3*
**Household situation** (women in dependent employment)

| Household situation | Western Germany | | | Eastern Germany | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | Part-time | Full-time | Total | Part-time | Full-time |
| living with husband | 64,7 % | 85,6 % | 47,9 % | 71,0 % | 79,2 % | 68,5 % |
| living with partner | 11,4 % | 3,8 % | 17,5 % | 10,4 % | 9,3 % | 10,7 % |
| without a partner | 23,9 % | 10,6 % | 34,5 % | 18,6 % | 11,5 % | 20,8 % |
| Total | 100 % n = 1.799 | 100 % n = 800 | 100 % n = 999 | 100 % n = 1.337 | 100 % n = 312 | 100 % n = 1025 |

Source: IAB-Project 3-466A, 1995

**Part-time work and its socioeconomic implications**

Here part-time work is basically understood as any duration of working time which lies below the collectively or contractually agreed number of hours for a full-time job. Today it covers a quantitative spectrum ranging from "marginal" part-time work[10] up to the border to full-time work. This can also be seen in our survey data for 1995 (cf. *Table 4.1.4*):

[10] "Marginal" employment relationships, which are not subject to social security contributions, are those in which the regular working week is less than 15 hours and in which in 1995 the monthly earnings did not exceed DM 580 (western Germany) or DM 470 (eastern Germany).

*Table 4.1.4*
**Number of hours normally worked per week**
**(women in part-time dependent employment, aged 18-65)**

| Hours worked per week | Western Germany | Eastern Germany |
|---|---|---|
| less than 15 | 20,6 % | 2,6 % |
| 15 to below 20 | 23,2 % | 5,9 % |
| 20 | 24,8 % | 17,2 % |
| 21 to below 25 | 8,6 % | 9,9 % |
| 25 to below 30 | 14,5 % | 15,5 % |
| 30 to below 35 | 8,3 % | 38,3 % |
| 35 to below 40 | - | 10,6 % |
| Total | 100 % n = 725 | 100 % n = 303 |
| Mean value in hours | 19,5 | 26,6 |
| T-Test (west vs. east) | p = 0,000 | |

Source: IAB-Project 3-466A, 1995

44% of the western German women in dependent employment reported that they had a part-time job. The temporal limits of their employment ranged from 2 to 38 hours per week and averaged 19.5 hours. The majority of all female part-timers in our survey are married[11] and have at least one child under the age of 16 (cf. *Tables 4.1.2, 4.1.3*). More than 90% of the *married* women working part-time have a partner in full-time employment, who essentially safeguards the financial situation of the household. As the women's own employment volume averages 19.3 hours per week - almost half of the married female part-timers work less than half a day- the share of the net household income contributed by women with their own income averages "only" 27%. In detail, part-timers' contribution to the household income in comparison with full-timers is distributed as follows (cf. *Table 4.1.5*):

[11] If not stated otherwise, the following remarks in this section always refer only to married women in part-time employment.

***Table 4.1.5:*** **The personal net income of married women in part-time or full-time employment with a partner working full-time as a percentage of the net household income (figures in %)**

| Woman's personal net income as a percentage of the net household income | Married women working part-time, with a partner in full-time employment | | Married women working full-time, with a partner in full-time employment | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | West | East | West | East |
| up to 25 % | 49 | 23 | 7 | 5 |
| 26 % to 33 % | 22 | 20 | 14 | 6 |
| 34 % to 50 % | 24 | 44 | 58 | 56 |
| 51 % and above | 5 | 13 | 21 | 33 |
| Average | 27 | 37 | 44 | 48 |

Source: IAB-Project 3-466A, 1995

In **eastern Germany** the part-time rate among working women in 1995 was 23% according to the IAB survey data. Their working time was on the whole considerably longer than in western Germany, averaging 26.6 hours per week, and also the lower and upper temporal limits (3 to 42 hours) reveal differences from the situation in western Germany. Also in eastern Germany part-time work is done primarily by married women with children (cf. *Tables 4.1.2 and 4.1.3*), most of whom have a partner in full-time employment. In contrast to western German women, eastern German *married* women in part-time employment work an average of 26.3 hours per week. Consequently their financial contribution to the household income is clearly higher with an average of 37 % (cf. *Table 4.1.5*).

As can be inferred from the data, in a household context part-time work at present has to be backed up by a partner's full-time income. Although women in part-time employment make a good quarter or a third of the total household income, one still cannot speak of a basis for safeguarding one's livelihood. This impression is reinforced if at the same time one takes into account for example that only 10% of western German working women who are single or live alone work part-time. It is not possible to discuss in detail here the reasons why part-time work is only attractive to married couples. In addition to socialisation effects, a central role is played above all by economic aspects which are influenced by institutional, (social) policy conditions such as fiscal law and social law (cf. in detail on this Bäcker/Stolz-Willig 1993, 1994, 1995).

***Wishes***

It is also precisely with regard to the expansion of part-time work, which is so desirable from a labour market policy point of view, that it is of interest to know to what extent women would like to work in the future. In the case of **women in full-time employment,** the analyses for this revealed a lower willingness to work part-time compared with previous years. Only 15% of western German women and 14% of eastern German women would prefer to work part-time, even if this did not lead to losses in income or pension[12], provided that certain precondi-

[12] Question asked: "Regardless of your present situation and the fact that your earnings and your pension would decrease in accordance with your hours of work, would you then in future - remain in full-time/part-time work, temporarily/permanently work full-time/part-time or give up working altogether?"

tions at their workplace were fulfilled. Such 'snapshots' of expressed wishes are always subject to the particular situation. In addition to domestic requirements, which vary from one individual case to another, the generally high level of job insecurity as well as the fact that real earnings have been stagnating or falling for years now certainly have a curbing effect on the general willingness to change the status quo at the present moment in time.

Apart from the fact that female full-timers are generally "cautious" in their comments about changing to part-time work, the women who would be prepared to work part-time differ in many respects from those who are currently working part-time (cf. in detail on this matter Beckmann/Kempf 1996, pp. 398ff.). This concerns firstly the desired volume of employment, which on the whole would be higher than among part-timers (cf. *Tables 4.1.6, 4.1.7, Figure 4.1.1*): in western Germany more than half of the women would like to work 25 hours per week or more, in eastern Germany just under three quarters of the women would most like to work as much as between 30 and 40 hours per week, although the desired volume of employment depends heavily on the current financial situation of the household. Secondly the clearly higher level of qualifications held by these women stands out in comparison to those working part-time. In addition to this it is striking that the (additional) demand for part-time work is particularly high in the industries that currently show below average part-time rates, such as the manufacturing industry, banking and insurance companies and the health services.

*Table 4.1.6*

**Current and desired working hours in western Germany**
(women in dependent employment)

| Current working hours[2] | Desired working hours[1] | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | below 15 hrs. | 15 to below 20 hrs. | 20 to below 25 hrs. | 25 to below 30 hrs. | 30 to below 35 hrs. | Full-time | Total (n=100%) |
| below 15 hrs. | **58,6 %** | 9,8 % | 18,8 % | - | 0,8 % | 12,0 % | 133 |
| 15 to below 20 hrs. | 3,2 % | **63,9 %** | 10,1 % | 4,4 % | 4,4 % | 13,9 % | 158 |
| 20 to below 25 hrs. | 0,9 % | 4,8 % | **76,3 %** | 5,3 % | 3,9 % | 8,8 % | 228 |
| 25 to below 30 hrs. | - | 2,0 % | 14,7 % | **66,7 %** | 3,9 % | 12,7 % | 102 |
| 30 to below 35 hrs. | - | - | 13,8 % | 6,9 % | **58,6 %** | 20,7 % | 58 |
| Full-time | - | 1,3 % | 4,9 % | 2,9 % | 4,5 % | **86,4 %** | 920 |

[1] Question asked: "If you could choose the volume of your working hours yourself, taking into consideration the fact that your earnings and your pension would decrease or increase in accordance with your working hours, how many hours would you then prefer to work per week?"

[2] Question asked: "How many hours per week do your working hours constitute (according to employment contract or collective agreement)?"

Source: IAB-Project 3-466A, 1995

*Table 4.1.7*

**Present and desired working hours in eastern Germany**
(women in dependent employment)

| Present working hours[2] | Desired working hours [1] | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | below 20 hrs. | 20 to below 30 hrs. | 30 to below 40 hrs. | Full-time | Total (n=100%) |
| below 20 hrs. | **32,0 %** | 24,0 % | 24,0 % | 20,0 % | 25 |
| 20 to below 30 hrs. | 0,8 % | **41,9 %** | 11,3 % | 46,0 % | 124 |
| 30 to below 40 hrs. | - | 3,5 % | **50,7 %** | 45,8 % | 142 |
| Full-time | 0,5 % | 3,1 % | 9,5 % | **86,9 %** | 968 |

[1] Question asked: "If you could choose the volume of your working hours yourself, again taking into account that your earnings and your pension would decrease or increase in accordance with the working hours, how many hours would you then prefer to work per week?"

[2] Question asked: "How many hours per week do your working hours constitute (according to employment contract or collective agreement)?"

Source: IAB-Project 3-466A, 1995

*Figure 4.1.1*

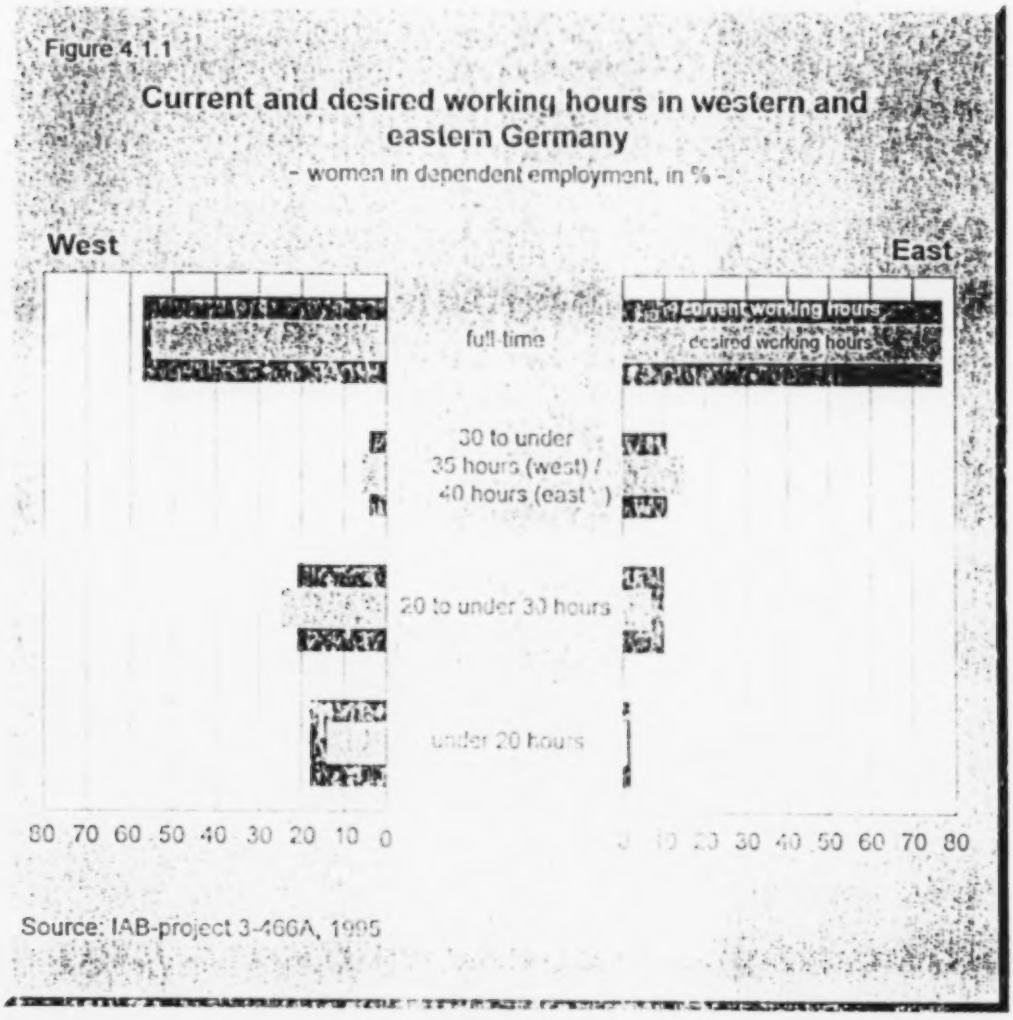
Figure 4.1.1
Current and desired working hours in western and eastern Germany
- women in dependent employment, in % -
West
East
current working hours
desired working hours
full-time
30 to under 35 hours (west) / 40 hours (east)
20 to under 30 hours
under 20 hours
80 70 60 50 40 30 20 10 0
10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80
Source: IAB-project 3-466A, 1995

Also with regard to the subjective factors the group of women who would possibly change to part-time work proves to be a "critical mass". Although occupation and work are not as important to them as they are to the full-timers who wish to continue working full-time, independent material protection and an independent lifestyle related to this are at the top of their list of reasons for working, unlike the women working part-time. In an east-west comparison both of these factors play an even greater role for eastern German women than for western German women. The answers to the questions regarding the possible positive and negative effects of a reduction in working hours on the private and professional areas of life reveal the following: the positive aspects of reducing the twin burden of family and occupation are prominent in both eastern and western Germany. In addition there is, however, a strong awareness of the problems - more in the west than in the east - concerning the negative consequences for the

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employment situation[13], which emphasises the double orientation of these women towards their occupation on the one hand and their family on the other.

A comparable development towards longer working hours is also discernible among women part-timers (cf. *Tables 4.1.6, 4.1.7, Figure 4.1.1*). It is necessary to mention here first of all the involuntary part-timers who would rather work full-time. In western Germany this accounts for 12% of female part-timers, in eastern Germany it is as high as 42%. But also among the women who wish to continue working part-time, the proportion of those with a working time of more than 20 hours per week would increase if women's wishes could be fulfilled. If this generally increased demand for part-time jobs with a higher number of hours is compared with the supply of "marginal" part-time employment relationships, which has been increasing for some time now, considerable deficits on the job supply side are obvious. Furthermore these findings give rise to the conclusion that the volume of work available as a result of voluntary reductions in working hours would not be sufficient to improve the situation on the labour market substantially.

**Overtime work**

Besides part-time work, overtime work is another common form of varying working hours. In principle it enables a divergence from the standard working time in terms of both amount and distribution. As our survey asked only about the amount of overtime, however, and not about whether it was worked for example on days other than the normal working days, overtime work can only be considered as a chronometrical working hours variant here. All hours of work done in excess of the contracted working time are counted as overtime work. "It is possible to differentiate between **"transitory overtime"**, which is overtime that is compensated for with time off, and **"definitive overtime"**, where the time is not compensated. Overtime may be paid or unpaid" (Kohler/Spitznagel 1996, p. 1).

As emerges from *Table 4.1.8*, at the end of 1995 about half of all working women were regularly working overtime, whereas the other half did so only rarely in the year or never. This applies equally for eastern and western German women. There was also no difference between full-timers and part-timers in the east, whereas in the west considerably more part-timers than full-timers never worked overtime.

[13] Answers given here were for example poorer possibilities for professional development, less company-internal information, and increased pressure at the workplace.

*Table 4.1.8*
**Overtime work** (women in dependent employment)

| Frequency of overtime[1)] | Western Germany | | | Eastern Germany | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | Part-time | Full-time | Total | Part-time | Full-time |
| every working day | 6,1 % | 2,6 % | 8,9 % | 5,8 % | 6,5 % | 5,5 % |
| 3 - 4 times per week | 8,0 % | 5,1 % | 10,3 % | 8,6 % | 6,8 % | 9,1 % |
| once or twice per week | 17,6 % | 14,0 % | 20,5 % | 17,5 % | 18,1 % | 17,3 % |
| 3 - 4 times per month | 8,8 % | 8,5 % | 9,0 % | 9,3 % | 9,7 % | 9,2 % |
| once or twice per month | 10,6 % | 12,0 % | 9,4 % | 11,4 % | 10,3 % | 11,7 % |
| rarely in the year | 13,5 % | 14,1 % | 12,9 % | 16,6 % | 14,8 % | 17,1 % |
| never | 35,4 % | 43,6 % | 28,9 % | 30,9 % | 33,9 % | 30,0 % |
| Total | 100 %<br>n = 1.796 | 100 %<br>n = 799 | 100 %<br>n = 997 | 100 %<br>n = 1.338 | 100 %<br>n = 310 | 100 %<br>n = 1.028 |

[1)] Question asked: "How often did you work overtime on average last year, irrespective of whether it was paid in money or time off in lieu or not at all?"

Source: IAB-Project 3-466A, 1995

Viewed according to **industry**[14] (no table), there was an above-average incidence of overtime in particular at regional and local authorities[15]/social insurance institutions and in the health services in western Germany. In eastern Germany overtime was undertaken mainly by women employed in educational establishments/publishing companies and at the regional and local authorities/social insurance institutions. Referring to **occupational status** (no table), our findings also indicate that in western and eastern Germany overtime work increases steadily with occupational status (cf. also on this matter Bauer et al. 1996). Thus about a quarter to a third of unskilled female workers regularly worked overtime, whereas more than two thirds of female white-collar workers and civil servants higher up the scale did overtime.

***Attitude to overtime work, and explanations***

How then do women who work overtime[16] judge their situation measured against the wishes they express for the future? From *Table 4.1.9* it first emerges that the opinions in western and eastern Germany are very similar on the whole. Approximately equally large proportions of the women declare themselves to be in favour of the options 'continuation of the status quo', 'reduction' or 'full rejection of overtime'. Only a tiny minority would like to work overtime more often. Thus all in all quite a high level of acceptance of overtime work can be discerned among working women, even if it is to differing degrees.

[14] Only industries with n ≥ 100 were taken into consideration.
[15] 30% of the employees in this industry are clerical or secretarial staff and 37% are teachers.
[16] Including those who worked overtime "only rarely in the year".

*Table 4.1.9*
**Attitude to overtime work (women in dependent employment who work overtime)**

| Attitude to overtime work[1)] | Western Germany | | | Eastern Germany | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | Part-time | Full-time | Total | Part-time | Full-time |
| more overtime | 3,1 % | 4,0 % | 2,5 % | 3,3 % | 4,4 % | 2,9 % |
| same amount of overtime | 33,2 % | 37,1 % | 30,7 % | 28,2 % | 29,3 % | 27,9 % |
| less overtime | 28,8 % | 21,6 % | 33,4 % | 30,3 % | 31,2 % | 30,0 % |
| no overtime at all | 34,9 % | 37,3 % | 33,4 % | 38,2 % | 35,1 % | 39,1 % |
| Total | 100 % n = 1.157 | 100 % n = 450 | 100 % n = 707 | 100 % n = 921 | 100 % n = 205 | 100 % n = 716 |

[1)] Question asked: " Would you personally like to work more overtime, the same amount as at present, less overtime or none at all?"

Source: IAB-Project 3-466A, 1995

Whereas in eastern Germany women working full-time and those working part-time do not differ in their attitudes towards overtime work, the opinions among western German women do vary. This can probably be put down to the fact that eastern German full-time and part-time workers do not differ so much from one another as western German women with regard to their employment volume on the one hand and the number of hours of overtime worked on the other hand. Thus in western Germany for example one third of women full-timers, whose working time is on average twice as long as part-timers' hours and who are at the same time affected to a greater extent by overtime work, wanted to work overtime less frequently in the future. In the case of part-time workers this applies to only one fifth of the respondents.

Of the possible explanatory factors for the different attitudes to overtime work examined (previous strain through overtime work[17], personal and net household income, occupational status), the **type of payment for overtime** proved to be the most significant. As *Table 4.1.10* indicates, the majority of overtime work done was transitory overtime[18]. In the case of definitive overtime, which constitutes some 45% of all overtime, it stands out that no payment at all was made more frequently in eastern than in western Germany.[19]

[17] Although the examination of this relation indicated that the more regularly overtime is done the less it is accepted (no table), there is no statistically significant relation between these two factors. The analysis of personal and net household income as well as that of occupational status as potential influential factors also reached the same result.

[18] This calculation includes all cases that gave as an answer "time off in lieu of overtime" plus half of the cases that stated "part payment/part time off in lieu of overtime".

[19] Referring to all working women, some 28% of western German and 32% of eastern Germany women therefore worked so-called "definitive" overtime, which is not compensated for in leisure time and thus constitutes the overtime volume relevant for the "work-sharing" debate ( Kohler/Spitznagel 1996, p. 1).

*Table 4.1.10*
**Attitude to overtime work and current method of compensation (women in dependent employment who work overtime)**

| Western Germany | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Current method of compensation[1] | Attitude to overtime work[2] more overtime | same amount of overtime | less overtime | no overtime at all | Total (rows) n | % |
| paid | (44,4 %) | 23,5 % | 23,7 % | 15,5 % | 245 | 21,4 |
| time off in lieu | (38,9 %) | 51,7 % | 37,4 % | 54,1 % | 549 | 48,0 |
| half/half | (8,3 %) | 12,7 % | 21,6 % | 11,8 % | 169 | 14,8 |
| no payment at all | (8,3 %) | 12,1 % | 17,3 % | 18,5 % | 180 | 15,7 |
| Total of columns | 100 % | 100 % | 100 % | 100 % | | |
| Overall total (columns) | 36 | 379 | 329 | 399 | 1.143 | 100,0 |
| n | 3,1 | 33,2 | 28,8 | 34,9 | | |
| **Eastern Germany** | | | | | | |
| Current method of compensation[1] | Attitude to overtime work[2] more overtime | same amount of overtime | less overtime | no overtime at all | Total (rows) n | % |
| paid | (53,3 %) | 22,2 % | 16,2 % | 13,4 % | 165 | 18,0 |
| time off in lieu | (23,3 %) | 51,8 % | 42,1 % | 49,4 % | 431 | 47,0 |
| half/half | (16,7 %) | 10,1 % | 15,5 % | 14,8 % | 126 | 13,7 |
| no payment at all | (6,7 %) | 16,0 % | 26,3 % | 22,4 % | 195 | 21,3 |
| Total of columns | 100 % | 100 % | 100 % | 100 % | | |
| Overall total (columns) | 30 | 257 | 278 | 352 | 917 | 100,0 |
| n | 3,3 | 28,0 | 30,3 | 38,4 | | |

[1] Question asked: "If you work overtime is it generally paid, do you receive time off in lieu or is it not paid in any way at all?"

[2] Question asked: "Would you personally like to work more overtime, the same amount as at present, less overtime or none at all?"

Source: IAB-Project 3-466A, 1995

If the type of payment for overtime is related to the acceptance of overtime, it stands out firstly that those respondents who wanted to work more overtime in future had previously been paid for their overtime more often than average.[20] Secondly the women who did not wish for any change in their present situation had more frequently been paid for their overtime (in any form) in the past than was the case for women who wished to do less or no more overtime.

These results show that the financial incentive for overtime work continues to play the major role with employees, even if no direct relation was found between the income situation and the wishes concerning overtime. Precisely in times of stagnating or falling real wages and real

[20] It must be noted here, however, that the number of cases is very small (west: n=36; east: n=30).

income, this aspect should be of particular importance, as for many employees overtime work can then constitute a possibility to compensate for losses in income.

## 4.2 Position of working hours, and wishes
- Chronological organisation of working hours -

### Number of days worked per week

If one first considers the number of days in a week that women's working time is spread over as a rough indicator of the flexibility of the position of working time, the following results are obtained *(cf. Table 4.2.1)*: at the end of 1995 in western and eastern Germany alike full-time employment continued to be concentrated on a five-day week, and only relatively few women generally worked six days a week. A higher than average incidence of six-day weeks was found mainly in the health services, in the regional and local authorities/social insurance institutions[21] and in the commercial sector.

*Table 4.2.1*
**Number of days worked per week** (women in dependent employment)

| Number of days worked per week[1)] | Western Germany | | | Eastern Germany | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | Part-time | Full-time | Total | Part-time | Full-time |
| 1 day | 1,0 % | 2,1 % | - | 0,2 % | 1,0 % | - |
| 2 days | 4,5 % | 10,2 % | - | 0,2 % | 0,7 % | - |
| 3 days | 5,7 % | 12,7 % | - | 1,1 % | 5,0 % | - |
| 4 days | 7,0 % | 13,2 % | 2,0 % | 2,9 % | 8,9 % | 1,1 % |
| 5 days | 68,3 % | 50,9 % | 82,2 % | 78,4 % | 66,6 % | 82,0% |
| 6 days | 11,7 % | 7,3 % | 15,3 % | 15,9 % | 15,9% | 15,9 % |
| Seasonal worker | 1,8 % | 3,5 % | 0,4 % | 1,3 % | 2,0% | 1,1 % |
| Total | 100 % n = 1.720 | 100 % n = 763 | 100 % n = 957 | 100 % n = 1.305 | 100 % n = 302 | 100 % n = 1.003 |
| Mean value (days) | 4,8 | 4,4 | 5,1 | 5,1 | 5,0 | 5,1 |

[1)] Question asked: "Over how many days in the week are your working hours spread?"
Source: IAB-Project 3-466A, 1995

Unlike with full-time employment, which shows quite a uniform structure in western and eastern Germany as regards the working days, there are considerable differences to be found in part-time employment. Although the majority of women worked on five days of the week, whereas a part-time job spread over 6 weekdays was rather an exception in the west, it was the second most frequent answer in the east. The reason for this can mainly be seen in the longer working week of eastern German female part-timers (cf. section 4.1). Although the data does

[21] The regional and local authorities includes all employees of federal, regional and local authorities, such as teachers at state-run schools, who make up 36% of this sector in western Germany and 11% in eastern Germany. By social insurance institutions only the compulsory social insurances are meant.

not permit any statements about the daily working hours, it is conceivable that a working week on average 7 hours longer could also be distributed over more working days.

**Saturday work**

Half of the German women in dependent employment never worked Saturdays at the end of 1995. A good third regularly also worked on Saturdays, i.e. either every weekend, three times a month or once or twice a month (*cf. Table 4.2.2*), and a further 15%-17% were only seldom affected by Saturday work. Whereas no differences were detectable between eastern German full-timers and part-timers with regard to Saturday work, in western Germany more full-timers than part-timers worked on Saturdays.

*Table 4.2.2*
**Saturday work** (women in dependent employment)

| Frequency of Saturday work [1] | Western Germany | | | Eastern Germany | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | Part-time | Full-time | Total | Part-time | Full-time |
| every weekend | 9,6 % | 7,6 % | 11,2 % | 7,8 % | 7,4 % | 8,0 % |
| 3 times a month | 5,0 % | 4,5 % | 5,4 % | 5,9 % | 4,5 % | 6,3 % |
| once or twice a month | 20,9 % | 20,1 % | 21,5 % | 21,0 % | 24,1 % | 20,1 % |
| only seldom in the year | 14,5 % | 13,8 % | 15,0 % | 16,6 % | 13,8 % | 17,4 % |
| never | 50,1 % | 54,0 % | 46,9 % | 48,7 % | 50,2 % | 48,2 % |
| Total | 100 %<br>n = 1.798 | 100 %<br>n = 798 | 100 %<br>n = 1.000 | 100 %<br>n = 1.370 | 100 %<br>n = 311 | 100 %<br>n = 1.029 |

[1] Question asked: "How often do you also work on a Saturday?"

Source: IAB-Project 3-466A, 1995

As expected there was an above-average incidence of regular Saturday work in the commercial and health sectors in western and eastern Germany alike[22], although at the same time a strong east-west difference can be observed (no table). In more than 90% of the cases, according to the information given by the respondents in the commercial sector, regular Saturday work was performed as part of the working hours typical for that particular industry (no table). In the health services the working hours regulations typical for this field become noticeable in the replies: just under two thirds of the women said that this was the usual working time for the industry and about a quarter (western Germany) and a third (eastern Germany) worked Satur days as part of shiftwork. The smaller proportion of female shiftworkers in western Germany can mainly be put down to the fact that more women worked Saturdays there at their own desire (5%) than was the case in eastern Germany (1%).

The Saturday rates in the manufacturing sector and the regional and local authorities/social insurance institutions as well as in educational establishments/publishing companies in eastern

[22] Again only industries with n≥100 are interpreted. For this reason the hotel and catering trade is not mentioned in the text although the information certainly applies in general.

Germany were well below the average for Saturday work. The Saturday work done regularly in these industries was therefore mainly done for other reasons: in addition to the working hours typical for the industry, in the manufacturing sector overtime (west: 26%/east: 35%) and shiftwork (west: 11%/east: 27%) played an important role.[23]

*Attitude to Saturday work, explanations and potential for voluntary Saturday work*

The attitudes to Saturday work among the women affected by it show some parallels with the replies given regarding overtime work, although it does not concern the same women. In both eastern and western Germany approximately one third of the women would prefer not to work Saturdays at all any more in the future, regardless of whether they worked full-time or part-time (*cf. Table 4.2.3*). In the other answers the attitudes of western German women in part-time employment differed clearly again from those of the other women. The former wished far more frequently for no change in their present situation in the future and consequently declared themselves less often to be in favour of a reduction in Saturday work.

*Table 4.2.3*
**Attitude to Saturday work** (women in dependent employment who work Saturdays)

| Attitude to Saturday work[1)] | Western Germany | | | Eastern Germany | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | Part-time | Full-time | Total | Part-time | Full-time |
| more Saturday work | 2,2 % | 3,0 % | 1,7 % | 1,3 % | 1,3 % | 1,3 % |
| same amount of Saturday work | 40,9 % | 46,0 % | 37,4 % | 35,7 % | 36,1 % | 35,6 % |
| less Saturday work | 24,9 % | 18,1 % | 29,6 % | 27,3 % | 26,5 % | 27,5 % |
| no Saturday work at all | 32,0 % | 32,9 % | 31,3 % | 35,7 % | 36,1 % | 35,6 % |
| Total | 100 % n = 895 | 100 % n = 365 | 100 % n = 530 | 100 % n = 686 | 100 % n = 155 | 100 % n = 531 |

[1)] Question asked: "Would you personally like to do more Saturday work, the same amount as at present, less Saturday work or none at all?"

Source: IAB-Project 3-466A, 1995

If again first of all the obvious connection between the frequency of Saturday work and the acceptance of it is examined, one can detect a significant, though weak (negative) connection (no table). The women who worked Saturday once or twice a month would most prefer to maintain their status quo, whereas those who worked Saturdays more frequently spoke out most clearly for a reduction. Women who were only seldom affected by Saturday work in the year rejected it completely most strongly. The reason for this can be seen in the type of Saturday work performed, which was far more rarely described as usual for the branch of industry than it was among the women who regularly worked Saturdays and was instead more frequently in the form of overtime work or was done for other reasons.

[23] The differences in the answers given between eastern and western Germany, which were considerable in some cases, should not be interpreted further here as it concerns only a very small number of cases.

How then do women who at the time of the survey did not work on Saturdays judge the option of receiving time off during the week in lieu of potential work on a Saturday?[24]

According to the results of our survey the overwhelming majority rejects this - even more so in western than in eastern Germany-, which can be attributed above all to the attitude of the women in part-time employment in western Germany. A mere 10% (west) and 16% (east) of the women could imagine making use of this possibility; between 5% (west) and 9% (east) had no definite opinion on this matter.

Those women who would be interested in working on Saturdays were at the time employed primarily in industries where Saturday work is rather unusual. The majority of them had full-time jobs and no children under the age of 16 to look after, which is certain to have influenced their attitudes to a certain degree.

It can be concluded from these results that Saturday is only considered a working day among women who so far have had hardly any experience of Saturday work and whose typical working day has so far not enabled them to deal with certain things on a "normal" workday.

Although some women would be willing to give up their free Saturday in favour of another free day during the week, it must not be overlooked that the realisation of the unfulfilled wishes on both sides in west and east would result in a substantial drop in the amount of Saturday work performed by women. The drop would be roughly equally large in western and eastern Germany and among full-time and part-time workers. The rate of Saturday work would therefore fall from 50% to 39% in western Germany and from 51% to 41% in eastern Germany. All in all there is therefore - under the conditions taken as a basis here - no sign of an expansion of Saturday work on a voluntary basis among Germany's working women.

**Sunday work**

As shown in *Table 4.2.4*, the overwhelming majority of women reported that they never worked on a Sunday. Thus Sunday work - which is in principle prohibited in spite of extended exemption provisions - continues to play a more secondary role compared with overtime work and Saturday work. In comparison with previous years, however, it is nevertheless possible to detect a slight increase (Bauer et al. 1996, p. 108). Also the statement "almost all the employees (95% in both western and eastern Germany) who regularly work Sundays also regularly work Saturdays (...). In virtually all cases the employees therefore lose their free weekend by working on Sundays" (Bauer et al. 1996, p. 108) applies without reservation to the women in our survey.

[24] Question asked: "If you had the choice of working on Saturdays and receiving time off accordingly during the week, would you then like to work on Saturdays?" The question was asked of all women who said they never worked Saturdays at present. Other incentives for Saturday work are of course also conceivable, e.g. financial incentives, these were not asked about, however.

*Table 4.2.4*
**Sunday work** (women in dependent employment)

| Frequency of Sunday work[1)] | Western Germany | | | Eastern Germany | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | Part-time | Full-time | Total | Part-time | Full-time |
| every weekend | 2,3 % | 1,8 % | 2,8 % | 2,1 % | 1,6 % | 2,2 % |
| 3 times a month | 2,8 % | 2,0 % | 3,5 % | 3,7 % | 1,3 % | 4,4 % |
| once or twice a month | 11,2 % | 10,5 % | 11,7 % | 11,1 % | 7,4 % | 12,3 % |
| only seldom in the year | 10,1 % | 7,9 % | 11,8 % | 8,6 % | 9,6 % | 8,3 % |
| never | 73,6 % | 77,8 % | 70,2 % | 74,5 % | 80,1 % | 72,8 % |
| Total | 100 % n = 1.797 | 100 % n = 798 | 100 % n = 999 | 100 % n = 1.338 | 100 % n = 311 | 100 % n = 1.027 |

[1)] Question asked: "How often do you also work on a Sunday?"

Source: IAB-Project 3-466A, 1995

As expected a higher than average incidence of regular Sunday work[25] could be found in the health services (no table), where it was performed predominantly as part of the working hours usual for that industry, but also in the form of shiftwork. There was virtually no regular Sunday work in Germany in the manufacturing industry and the commercial sector. All in all a good 50% of the cases of Sunday work were hours of work usual for the particular industry. Shiftwork constituted 19% of all the reasons given in eastern Germany and 13% in western Germany, and 15% (west) and 10% (east) of the women who worked on Sundays were doing overtime. The number of women who worked Sundays at their own desire as part of a flexible working time regulation is as low as it is for Saturday work. 9% of the working women in western Germany gave this reply and 6% in eastern Germany.

***Attitude to Sunday work, explanations and potential for voluntary Sunday work***

On the whole the opinions found concerning Sunday work among the women affected by it were very similar to those seen for overtime and Saturday work (cf. *Table 4.2.5*). It met with complete rejection in (only) a good third of women. A quarter of those who worked Sundays wished to do so less frequently, and more than a third did not seek any change in their present situations. It is striking that hardly any of the women wished for an expansion of Sunday work.

As was the case with overtime and Saturday work, western German women in part-time employment were also more positively disposed towards Sunday work than all other women. Thus here, too, the present volume of employment plays a key role for the attitude towards Sunday work. In accordance with the findings on Saturday work, the acceptance of Sunday work also turns out to be dependent on its frequency for western Germany (no table). Accord-

[25] The following observations are once again restricted to branches of industry with $n \geq 100$. The hotel and catering trade as well as agriculture and forestry with a high proportion of Sunday work therefore once again remain unmentioned.

ing to this, women who worked Sunday once or twice a month would most prefer to continue doing so just as frequently as previously. Women who worked almost every Sunday would most like to reduce this, and those who worked Sundays only seldom in the year would prefer to give this up altogether - as would those who worked every Sunday. Such clear statements are, however, not possible for eastern Germany. There only the women who worked Sundays only rarely in a year differed clearly from all the others. Almost two thirds of this group rejected Sunday work completely. The reasons for this - as in the case of Saturday work - are as follows: whereas regular Sunday work is based on working hours typical for an industry or on shiftwork, in the case of Sunday work performed more seldom, the main reasons were overtime and other reasons not related to the branch of industry.

*Table 4.2.5*
**Attitude to Sunday work** (women in dependent employment who work Sundays)

| Attitude to Sunday work[1)] | Western Germany | | | Eastern Germany | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | Part-time | Full-time | Total | Part-time | Full-time |
| more Sunday work | 1,5 % | 2,3 % | 1,0 % | 0,9 % | - | 1,1 % |
| same amount of Sunday work | 35,9 % | 43,2 % | 31,5 % | 37,7 % | 35,0 % | 38,2 % |
| less Sunday work | 26,7 % | 22,2 % | 29,5 % | 23,8 % | 23,3 % | 23,9 % |
| no Sunday work at all | 35,9 % | 32,4 % | 38,0 % | 37,7 % | 41,7 % | 36,8 % |
| Total | 100 %<br>n = 468 | 100 %<br>n = 176 | 100 %<br>n = 292 | 100 %<br>n = 332 | 100 %<br>n = 60 | 100 %<br>n = 272 |

1) Question asked: "Would you personally like to do more Sunday work, the same amount as at present, less Sunday work or none at all?"

Source: IAB-Project 3-466A, 1995

As already mentioned, more than 90% of the women who regularly did Sunday work also regularly worked on Saturdays. If this group's wishes regarding Saturday **and** Sunday work are looked at more closely, it can be seen that the wishes are identical for both days among most of the respondents (77% west, 87% east). About a fifth of eastern and western German women would most like to work neither Saturday nor Sunday in future. Virtually the same number of women in east and west would like to reduce Saturday and Sunday work and 36% (west) and 41% (east) of the women did not desire any change to their status quo.

As was done the issue of Saturday work, women who **never worked Sundays** were also asked about whether they would make use of the possibility of receiving another weekday off work in exchange for Sunday work. From the replies to this question it is clear that Sunday work enjoys even less popularity than Saturday work. The overwhelming majority of women rejected this possibility clearly, between 4% (west) and 5% (east) were undecided and only 5% (west) and 7% (east) would make use of this option. Western German women working part-time were again the most critical of Sunday work.

If one now calculates once again the proportion of women who would work Sundays if all wishes (for change) were taken into account, then the amount of Sunday work done by women

would also decline on the whole in western and eastern Germany. In western Germany, where at the end of 1995 the figure was 26%[26], it would drop to 20%; in eastern Germany the decline would be somewhat weaker, falling by 4 percentage points to 21%. Western German women in full-time employment, who worked Sundays most frequently, would most like to reduce this (-7 percentage points) and therefore level off at the desired level of the eastern German comparison group. There was also considerable agreement among part-timers in western and eastern Germany with regard to the Sunday work desired. They would work Sundays even more seldom than their full-time counterparts, with 17% (east) and 18% (west).

## 4.3 Distribution and variability of working hours

- Chronometrical and chronological organisation of working hours -

### Organisation of working hours

The answers to the question as to how working time is currently organised - with regard to the number of days worked, the days of the week worked, the duration and position - show on the whole a greater flexibility of part-time work compared with full-time work *(cf. Table 4.3.1)*.[27] Thus a quarter to a third of the female part-timers in western Germany reported for all the points given that they could arrange their working hours flexibly, whereas the full-timers only had any scope worth mentioning with regard to position and duration.[28] Differences can, however, also be seen between part-time workers in east and west. In principle it can, however, be assumed that it is easier and thus more common to organise flexibly a smaller volume of work in the form of a part-time job than is the case with a full-time job. Consequently the more flexible organisation of working hours of western German part-timers compared with eastern German part-timers with regard to the number of days and the days of the week worked is probably also primarily due to the smaller weekly work quota of western German part-timers.

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[26] Here all women who worked Sundays were taken into account, thus including those who only did so seldom in the year.

[27] It is not possible to determine here whether this flexible organisation of working hours originated from the employee-side or from the side of the employers. Therefore both are fundamentally possible.

[28] The latter can probably be put down mainly to the flexitime regulations in place in many enterprises. According to ISO 1995 this possibility is enjoyed by 26% (west) and 21% (east) of female employees (cf. Bauer et al. 1996, p. 143).

*Table 4.3.1*
**Organisation of working hours (women in dependent employment)**

| Present organisation of working hours[1)] | Western Germany | | | Eastern Germany | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | Part-time | Full-time | Total | Part-time | Full-time |
| No. of days worked/week | 15,6 % | 24,1 % | 9,0 % | 8,6 % | 13,6 % | 7,1 % |
| Days of week worked (e.g. Mon, Tue) | 20,7 % | 32,3 % | 11,8 % | 11,6 % | 17,5 % | 9,7 % |
| Duration of working time in hours (e.g. 4 hours/day) | 26,4 % | 30,7 % | 23,0 % | 18,7 % | 22,8 % | 17,4 % |
| Time of day worked (e.g. mornings) | 24,9 % | 31,8 % | 19,4 % | 24,1 % | 31,9 % | 21,7 % |
| **Degree of flexibility** | | | | | | |
| high (3 - 4 items variable) | 12,6 % | 19,6 % | 7,2 % | 7,3 % | 11,6 % | 6,0 % |
| medium (1 - 2 items variable) | 22,5 % | 23,2 % | 22,0 % | 21,2 % | 23,1 % | 20,6 % |
| no flexibility | 64,8 % | 57,2 % | 70,7 % | 71,6 % | 65,5 % | 73,4 % |
| Total | 100 % n = 1.722 | 100 % n = 960 | 100 % n = 762 | 100 % n = 1.308 | 100 % n = 304 | 100 % n = 1.004 |
| Mean value (number of items) | 0,785 | 1,059 | 0,567 | 0,539 | 0,747 | 0,476 |

[1)] Question asked: "How is your working time organised at present? Is your working time currently more fixed or can it be decided flexibly? Please tell me for each aspect on this list whether your working time is fixed or flexible in this respect." The figures show the percentage of women who said their working time was flexible.

Source: IAB-Project 3-466A, 1995

All in all it can be concluded from this that the desired individually arrangeable working hours in full-time jobs in which women work was still not very widespread in 1995. Part-time work seemed - mainly owing to the reduced number of hours - to be somewhat closer to this goal, but here, too, many wishes still remain unfulfilled as is shown in the following section.

**Individual options for organising working hours, and their prospects**

The replies to the question "would you like to have more flexibility in your working hours in your present employment relationship and your current domestic situation?" portray the actual situation at the workplace described earlier in a virtually complementary form (*cf. Table 4.3.2*): women in full-time employment whose working hours are currently the least variable have the greatest wishes for more flexibility. Women in part-time work - with comparably flexibly organised working hours - are accordingly more restrained in their wishes for more flexibility.

*Table 4.3.2*
**Wish for more flexibility in working hours** (women in dependent employment)

| Wish for more flexibility in working hours[1)] | Western Germany | | | Eastern Germany | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | Part-time | Full-time | Total | Part-time | Full-time |
| yes | 29,1 % | 16,5 % | 39,0 % | 29,4 % | 21,4 % | 31,9 % |
| no | 70,9 % | 83,5 % | 61,0 % | 70,6 % | 78,6 % | 68,1 % |
| Total | 100 %<br>n = 1.727 | 100 %<br>n = 764 | 100 %<br>n = 963 | 100 %<br>n = 1.311 | 100 %<br>n = 304 | 100 %<br>n = 1.007 |

[1)] Question asked: "Would you wish for more flexibility in your working hours in your present employment relationship and your present domestic situation?"

Source: IAB-Project 3-466A, 1995

After this general question the women who said they wished for more flexibility were asked about the concrete forms of working hours they would like to take advantage of (*cf. Table 4.3.3*). As the preference for certain forms of working time is not least a question of the current employment volume, such as part-time rotating shifts, in the following the results are broken down according to full-time and part-time employees. First of all, however, what all the women have in common is that flexitime heads their list of preferences. In addition to this there is a generally high degree of agreement in the answers of women in part-time employment in western and eastern Germany: in addition to flexible working hours a good quarter of the women would like to work part-time rotating shifts or would like to have days off that can be spread out throughout the year. One fifth each declared themselves to be in favour of a reduction of the working week, the possibility to take up entitlement to leisure time in block-form, and leaves of absence. In addition a further fifth of western German part-timers would like to share a job with another person, whereas this form of working time received little attention in eastern Germany.

**Desired forms of working hours**
**(women in dependent employment who wish for more flexibility of working hours)**

| Desired forms of working hours[1] | Western Germany | | | Eastern Germany | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | Part-time | Full-time | Total | Part-time | Full-time |
| Flexitime | 56 % | 53 % | 57 % | 66 % | 48 % | 70 % |
| Part-time rotating shift system (mornings/afternoons) | 16 % | 27 % | 13 % | 11 % | 28 % | 8 % |
| Reduction of the working day (e.g. 6 hours per day) | 19 % | 10 % | 23 % | 21 % | 14 % | 22 % |
| Reduction of the working week (e.g. 4 days) | 28 % | 20 % | 30 % | 15 % | 20 % | 14 % |
| Reduction of the annual working time (e.g. 8 months) | 11 % | 6 % | 12 % | 6 % | 6 % | 5 % |
| Days off that can be taken throughout the year | 33 % | 26 % | 35 % | 34 % | 30 % | 35 % |
| Combining of entitlement to time off into longer blocks | 25 % | 22 % | 26 % | 22 % | 19 % | 22 % |
| Jobsharing (e.g. two people share one job) | 15 % | 21 % | 12 % | 5 % | 6 % | 5 % |
| Sabbaticals (temporary periods away from employment) | 8 % | 8 % | 8 % | 4 % | 2 % | 4 % |
| Leaves of absence (e.g. for parents or for the purpose of further training) | 16 % | 18 % | 16 % | 14 % | 20 % | 13 % |
| Other | 3 % | 5 % | 2 % | 3 % | 3 % | 3 % |
| Total (number of cases) | n = 498 | n = 124 | n = 374 | n = 385 | n = 64 | n = 321 |
| **Preferred forms of working hours[2]** | | | | | | |
| Flexitime | 40 % | 35 % | 42 % | 48 % | 31 % | 51 % |
| Part-time rotating shifts | | 17 % | | | 17 % | |
| Reduction of working day | | | | 13 % | 13 % | 13 % |
| Reduction of working week | 13 % | 14 % | 13 % | | | |
| Days off in the year | | | 10 % | | 13 % | |
| Jobsharing | | 13 % | | | | |

1) Question asked: "Which of the forms of working hours on this list would you like to take advantage of?" (more than one answer possible)
2) Question asked: "Which forms of working hours would you most like to take advantage of at present?" Only answers with a share of ≥ 10 % are shown.

Source: IAB-Project 3-466A, 1995

Among the **women full-timers** especially in eastern Germany, flexitime was also at the top of the list of preferences. A good third of the women in both eastern and western Germany would also like to have days off that can be spread out throughout the year. Just under another third

of western German full-timers stated that they were in favour of a reduction of the working week; that is more than twice as many as in the eastern German comparison group. The combining of entitlements to time off into longer blocks of leisure time was placed third in the list of answers, followed by a reduction of the working day and the desire for leaves of absence.

All in all the wishes regarding the organisation of working hours of women in full- and part-time employment in western and eastern Germany demonstrate a number of agreements, but also some differences, e.g. in the degree of importance of the individual options. This becomes clearer when one looks at the answers given most frequently concerning the **form of working time** that the women would **most prefer** to take advantage of (*cf. Table 4.3.3*). For most of the respondents flexitime remained the most important form of increased flexibility in working hours. Among part-timers this was then followed with a clear interval by part-time rotating shifts. After that the opinions in west and east diverged. Thus 13% of the women working part-time in western Germany declared themselves to be in favour of jobsharing, whereas just as many part-timers in eastern Germany preferred (more) days off per year. A further east-west difference comes to light in the case of reductions of working hours. For eastern German women a reduction in the daily hours of work was more important - probably because of their altogether longer working hours -, whereas western German women favoured a reduction in the working week. These answers reflect firstly that the reduction of working hours is more advanced in western than in eastern Germany. Secondly, owing to the different preferences one may also assume there to be a different usage of time, such as family work vs. organisation of leisure time. The latter could also apply to the western German women working full-time, 80% of whom had no children under the age of 16, and who considered (more) days off per year to be the most important (10%).

## 5 Summary

In the first part of this report the employment situation of women at the end of 1995 was compared with their employment wishes. It became clear that under favourable labour market conditions considerably more women would be working than was the case at the given point in time. Seen from an east-west point of view it could be seen that the labour participation and also the volume of employment of eastern German women is still clearly higher than that of women in western Germany. As a result of different employment trends this difference would remain in place and would even increase if all the employment wishes could be put into effect.

In the second part the working hours and wishes regarding working hours of working women were shown. With regard to the expansion of part-time work, which is desirable from a labour market policy point of view, the analysis of the part-time potential of women in full-time employment resulted in the following: firstly the willingness to do more part-time work has fallen considerably compared with previous years. Secondly for many women an intention to switch to part-time work is linked with certain job requirements being met. In addition to qualitative and sectoral aspects, one of these requirements is the desired duration of working time - almost all women would like to work more than half a day. This development towards longer hours of work is also noticeable in part-timers, a not inconsiderable proportion of whom would even prefer to work full-time. With regard to the duration of working time desired and that actually offered, it is thus possible to speak of considerable "mismatch" problems on the labour market. The socio-economic basic conditions of part-time work were also examined briefly. Part-time work proved once again to be a form of working time which at present is or has to be backed

up by a partner's full-time income. It is therefore only attractive on a larger scale for (married) couples. Owing to these income requirements, but also because of social law implications, part-time work can not be discussed solely from an individual viewpoint, but must be seen at least in a household context.

The analysis of the actual organisation of working hours with regard to the number of days worked per week and the position of the hours made clear the following: the full-time employment of women in western and eastern Germany continues to take place predominantly in the context of a rigid organisation scheme without any flexibility. In contrast, in western Germany far more women working part-time have flexible possibilities of organising working hours or they are deployed more flexibly. The actual conditions of the organisation of working hours are reflected amongst other things in the wish for hours of work that can be arranged more flexibly. Dependent on the present volume of employment - and thus also on the degree of flexibility available - a considerable breadth of variation comes to light between the different groups of employees, which in turn underlines the group specifics of the issue of working hours. More extensive flexibility measures would thus have to take these facts into account in order to lead to the desired success in the end.

This aspect becomes even clearer when the concrete working hours desired by the women are examined. Only flexitime was at the top of the list of preferences for all groups of workers. All other forms of working hours play roles of different strengths, depending on whether those concerned work full-time or part-time or are western or eastern German women. A combination of wishes for reductions in working hours and more flexibility in working hours stands out relatively clearly among western German women in full-time employment. Otherwise forms of working hours that are aimed at introducing annualised working times (such as block leisure time and additional days off work) on the whole meet with more agreement across all the groups than the various possibilities of a general reduction in working hours.

As far as the attitudes to overtime and weekend work are concerned it could be seen that these were decisively influenced by the volume of employment in conjunction with the degree to which those concerned were affected by overtime and weekend work. This was expressed among women in full-time and part-time employment in eastern Germany in the fact that, as a result of their longer hours of work in conjunction with a greater degree to which they were affected by overtime and weekend work, they would more frequently like to reduce their hours than western German women in part-time employment. In contrast western German women working part-time would rather maintain their status quo. In addition to this it is generally true that women for whom such forms of working hours were part of their everyday work, as a result of their belonging to a particular occupation or branch of industry, had a more positive attitude to it than women who were affected by it only occasionally. The greatest opposition could be found among western German part-timers who had never yet worked at weekends. It also became clear that the potential for an extension of Saturday and Sunday work can not be found among the women or in the branches of industry which already work at weekends, but - on a very small scale - among the (full-time) employees in those industries that have so far made little use of it. If at the present time and under the present conditions all women's wishes (for change) could be realised, however, both Saturday and Sunday work by women would decrease in western and eastern Germany alike. Under the given conditions, one could not expect female employees to adapt voluntarily on the whole if weekend work were to be expanded. The only incentive for additional weekend work given within the context of our survey, which was receiving a day off during the week in lieu of the weekend work, did not prove to be very attractive. On the other hand it could be seen in the case of overtime work

that the financial incentive is of great importance. Taxation of premiums for work done on Sundays and holidays - in particular in times of stagnating or falling real wages - would accordingly lower even further the willingness to do more weekend work, at least if no other incentives were made.

All in all it can be concluded from our data that a general reduction of working hours - as a sole measure to stem the rise in unemployment or to increase employment - conflicts with the interests of many women. In contrast it appears to be more desirable to the respondents to arrange working hours more flexibly. This, however, requires consensus between the interests of the employers and the female workers. It should also have become clear from the findings that a universal solution - of whatever kind - is not suitable for this.

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